

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SANTIA 02625 01 OF 04 311651Z
ACTION ARA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 SANTIAGO 2625

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TAGS: PINT, SHUM, PFOR, CI
SUBJ: OVERVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE IN CHILE, MARCH 1976-
MARCH 1977

REF: SANTIAGO 2539

1. NOTE: AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS THE EMBASSY HAS PREPARED THIS OVERVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE IN CHILE. IT IS BASED UPON SOME SENSITIVE SOURCES AND CONTAINS SPECULATIVE AND CONTROVERSIAL JUDGMENTS FOR WHICH FIRM EVIDENCE IS LACKING. IT SHOULD BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH REFTTEL, WHICH PROVIDES THE BASIC FACTS AND BACKGROUND.

2. SUMMARY: GROSS VIOLATIONS OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE HAVE DECLINED MARKEDLY WHEN COMPARED WITH A YEAR AGO. SIGNIFICANT, EVEN DRAMATIC, IMPROVEMENTS OCCURRED DURING THE PAST FOUR MONTHS. THOUSANDS UNCONDITIONALLY REGAINED THEIR FREEDOM OR WERE PERMITTED TO RESETTLE OUTSIDE CHILE; PREPORTS OF TORTURE BECAME RARER, WITH NO REPORTED CASES OCCURRING SO FAR THIS YEAR. ALTHOUGH MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED PEOPLE DISAPPEARED UNDER MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES IN 1976, LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS KNOW OF NONE DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1977. NEARLY TWO DOZEN BODIES, SOME REPORTEDLY MUTILATED TO HINDER IDENTIFICATION, WERE FOUND DURING SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER, BUT THE NUMBER OF SUCH OCCURRENCES HAS SUBSEQUENTLY DROPPED VIRTUALLY TO NIL. THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SANTIA 02625 01 OF 04 311651Z

FATE OF SOME 800 MISSING PERSONS REMAINS UNKNOWN IN SPITE OF RECENT, UNPRECEDENTED EFFORTS BY THE CIVILIAN JUDICIARY TO INVESTIGATE SOME CONTEMPORARY CASES. SECURITY FORCES CONTINUE TO HARASS CITIZENS BY DETAINING THEM BRIEFLY AND WITHOUT RECORD FOR INTERROGATION AND INTIMIDATION. DURING 1976 THE GOVERNMENT EXPELLED TWO ARTICULATE NON-MARXIST CRITCS, STRIPPED THREE EXILES OF CHILEAN CITIZENSHIP, AND

COUNTERED DISSENT WITH A VARIETY OF MEASURES WHICH VIOLATED CIVIL LIBERTIES. ALL THE REMAINING, NON-LEFTIST POLITICAL PARTIES WERE DISSOLVED MARCH 12, 1977.

3. RULE UNDER STATE OF SIEGE CONTINUED IN SPITE OF THE ABSENCE OF VIOLENT OPPOSITION. THE GOVERNMENT ATTRIBUTED THE DEATH OF ONE POLICEMAN, SEVERAL ROBBERIES AND A BOMBING TO ANTI-GOVERNMENT TERRORISTS -- MOSTLY TO A SMALL GROUP KNOWN AS "RED SEPTEMBER" WHICH THE GOC ROLLED UP IN AUGUST AND OCTOBER. THIRTEEN MEN AND WOMEN, ALLEGEDLY MEMBERS OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR), WERE CHARGED WITH ARMED ROBBERY BY CIVIL DETECTIVES AND WILL BE TRIED IN CIVIL COURTS.

4. THE GOVERNMENT'S INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK REMAINS INTACT AND MAY EVEN HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED DURING THE PERIOD. THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE (DINA), ALTHOUGH PRIVATELY DECLARING THE "WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION" WON, RETAINS ITS LEGAL MANDATE EVEN AS ITS OPERATIONAL PROCEDURES EVOLVE. THE INESCAPABLE CONCLUSION IS THAT SENIOR CHILEAN OFFICIALS HAVE CONDONED ABUSES, PRESUMABLY RATIONALIZING THEM AS NECESSARY FOR INTERNAL SECURITY. AS OF MARCH 1977 MARKED IMPROVEMENT HAS OCCURRED -- PRESUMABLY AT THE INSISTENCE OF SENIOR OFFICIALS. CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS PROMULGATED BY THE JUNTA IN SEPTEMBER 1976 BOLSTER EMERGENCY POWER AND ON BALANCE LIMIT THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS WHICH HAD EXISTED, AT LEAST IN THEORY, UNDER THE PREVIOUS (1925) CONSTITUTION.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02625 01 OF 04 311651Z

5. WE CREDIT THE MEANINGFUL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE OBSERVANCE OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS TO A MIX OF FACTORS: THE GOC'S BELIEF THAT ITS AUTHORITY CAN NO LONGER BE SUCCESSFULLY CHALLENGED INTERNALLY; ITS JUDGMENT OF THE COST OF INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION IN LIGHT OF PERUVIAN ARMS ACQUISITIONS; ACTIONS BY, AND EVENTS IN, THE UNITED STATES; AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS. WITHOUT ASSIGNING WEIGHTS TO EACH FACTOR, WE CANNOT HELP BUT CONCLUDE THAT THE US ROLE SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECTED GOC DECISIONS. BUT SINCE US INFLUENCE MANIFESTED ITSELF IN SUCH A WIDE VARIETY OF WAYS, WE CANNOT STATE WHICH SPECIFIC EVENTS HAD GREATEST EFFECT. NOR CAN WE JUDGE THE IMPACT OF PRESSURES FROM UN AND OAS BODIES. WE DO HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE RECALCITRANT STAND ON POLITICAL DISSENT TAKEN BY THE GOC IN MID-MARCH 1977 WAS TRIGGERED BY ITS PERCEPTION THAT NEITHER THE USG NOR INTERNATIONAL BODIES RECOGNIZED ADEQUATELY SUCH IMPROVEMENTS AS HAD TAKEN PLACE. END SUMMARY.

6. MAJOR TRENDS AND INSTITUTIONAL OVERVIEW:

ANALYSIS OF THE THREE INSTITUTIONAL ACTS ANNOUNCED IN SEPTEMBER 1976 SHOWS THEM TO BE VERY MUCH IN ACCORD WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S CONCEPT OF AN AUTHORITARIAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THEY STRESS THE NATIONAL SECURITY IMPERATIVES UNDERLYING GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS AND LEAVE VAGUE HOW THE CITIZENRY MIGHT PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS. THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE ACT ON RIGHTS AND DUTIES AND THE ONE ON EMERGENCY POWERS, TAKEN WITH OTHER GOVERNMENT PRONOUNCEMENTS, REINFORCES THE WIDELY HELD BELIEF THAT THE GOC, DESPITE OCCASIONAL HINTS TO THE CONTRARY, INTENDS TO AVAIL ITSELF OF EMERGENCY AUTHORITY FOR THE INDEFINITE FUTURE. HASTILY DRAWN AMENDMENTS TO THE ACTS BELIEVE THE EXCEPTIONAL STATUS THE JUNTA ORIGINALLY CLAIMED FOR THEM. FORTY-TWO MONTHS INTO THE REGIME, THE JUNTA HAS BEEN UNABLE TO AGREE UPON IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS FOR ITS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SANTIA 02625 01 OF 04 311651Z

EMERGENCY POWERS ACT; THERE IS NO INDICATION WHEN A LONG AWAITED NATIONAL SECURITY CODE(WHICH WOULD BE IN EFFECT

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02625 02 OF 04 311730Z
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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 /020 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4161

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 SANTIAGO 2625

IN NORMAL PERIODS) WILL APPEAR. THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE (DINA) CONTINES TO BE A FORCE UNTO ITSELF; COLONEL CONTRERAS REMAINS IN CHARGE. IN THE NET THESE FACTORS STRENGTHEN THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR REPRESSION.

7 IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, MANY IMPORTANT AND GENERALLY

FAVORABLE OPERATIONAL TRENDS CAN BE DETECTED DURING THE PAST YEAR. INTELLIGENCE SERVICES TURNED THEIR PRIMARY ATTENTION FROM THE THREAT OF VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO THAT OF SUBVERSION IN APRIL-MAY 1976. THE LAST WELL-KNOWN MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) TERRORISTS HAD FLED INTO DIPLOMATIC ASYLUM BY EARLY 1976. THE CRACK-DOWN ON SUCCESSIVE TIERS OF COMMUNIST (PCCH) LEADERSHIP CONTINUED UNTIL MID-DECEMBER 1976. MEANWHILE THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUED TO HARASS DISSENTERS AMONG DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. BY YEAR'S END, DINA CHIEF CONTRERAS WAS REPORTED TO HAVE DECLARED THE WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION WON. GOC ACTIONS IN MID-MARCH 1977 DEMONSTRATE A NEW STAGE IN STILLING DISSENT FROM THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, WHO LOST MOST BY THE DISSOLUTION OF THE REMAINING POLITICAL PARTIES. SO FAR, HOWEVER, NO ONE HAS BEEN ARRESTED OR OTHERWISE PUNISHED FOR VIOLATING THE BAN ON PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

8. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ALLEGE THAT WITHOUT THE PANOPLY OF EMERGENCY POWERS, VIOLENT OPPOSITION WOULD SURFACE.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02625 02 OF 04 311730Z

SUCH A CONTENTION CANNOT, OF COURSE, BE DISPROVED, BUT THERE IS REASON FOR SKEPTICISM. THE ONLY KNOWN CASE OF POSSIBLE TERRORIST ACTION AGAINST A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY FORCES OCCURRED IN APRIL 1976 WHEN A CARABINERO (UNIFORMED POLICEMAN) WAS KILLED AND STRIPPED OF HIS UNIFORM AND BADGE. SECURITY FORCES SUPPOSEDLY CRACKED THIS CASE AND RESOLVED SEVERAL ROBBERIES WITH THE DISCOVERY OF THE CACHE OF A GROUP KNOWN AS "RED SEPTEMBER" IN AUGUST 1976. IN OCTOBER 1976, A SHOOTOUT OCCURRED IN WHICH SEVERAL PERSONS, POSSIBLY LINKED WITH THIS "RED SEPTEMBER" GROUP, WERE SLAIN AND OTHERS POSSIBLY DETAINED. IN FEBRUARY-MARCH 1977, SECURITY FORCES CAPTURED APPROXIMATELY ONE DOZEN MEN AND WOMEN AND CHARGED THEM WITH NUMEROUS ROBBERIES. THE GROUP APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A SPLINTER BAND OF THE MIR. SIGNIFICANTLY THEY WERE ARRESTED BY THE CIVILIAN DETECTIVE FORCE, CHARGED WITH COMMON CRIMES AND WILL BE TRIED BY CIVILIAN COURTS. THIS REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT PROCEDURAL ADVANCE IN THAT THE GROUP COULD HAVE BEEN HELD UNDER MILITARY JURISDICTION FOR ARMS CONTROL VIOLATIONS.

9. SINCE LATE 1976 THE CIVILIAN JUDICIARY HAS DEMONSTRATED A NEW ASSERTIVENESS. IT NOW HAS OPENED AT LEAST SIX SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS OF SENSITIVE CASES WIDELY BELIEVED TO HAVE INVOLVED THE GOVERNMENT IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITY. SO FAR THE COURT-ORDERED INVESTIGATIONS HAVE SHED LITTLE NEW LIGHT ON THE PARTICULAR CASES, BUT THE MERE FACT OF THE INVESTIGATIONS MAY SERVE AS A DETERRENT TO FUTURE ABUSES.

10. THE RIGHT TO LIFE

THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO FIND HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE MISSING UNDER MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES SINCE THE 1973 COUP, MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED OF THEM DURING 1976. SO FAR, FOR EXAMPLE, AMONG THE 415 MISSING PEOPLE THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY HAS ASKED THE COURTS TO INVESTI-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SANTIA 02625 02 OF 04 311730Z

GATE NOT ONE HAS APPEARED ALIVE (THE GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY CLAIMED THAT ONE IS LIVING IN CHILE; VARIOUS GROUPS ARE ASKING THE GOC TO PRODUCE HIM). WITH REGARD TO THE IMPROBABLE GOVERNMENT ACCOUNT THAT KNOWN COMMUNIST LEADERS TRAVELLED UNDER THEIR TRUE NAMES TO ARGENTINA, THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN ARGUMENTS REGARDING FALSE IDENTIFI- CATION AND EASE OF IMPERSONATION SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND. IN A FEW CASES, PRIVILEGED INFORMATION INDICATED THAT INDIVIDUALS WERE IN GOC HANDS. WE DOUBT THAT THEY SUB- SEQUENTLY LEFT THE COUNTRY. IN MANY CASES, RELATIVE AND NEIGHBORS HAVE SWORN THAT INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS DE- TAINED STILL MISSING PEOPLE, WHICH THE GOC FLATLY DENIES; IN OTHER CASES, CERTAIN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE ACKNOW- LEGED DETENTIONS SUBSEQUENTLY DENIED BY OTHER OFFICIALS.

11. DURING 1976, WHEN THE NUMBER OF DISAPPEARANCWS DECLINED SLIGHTLY WHEN COMPARED TO PREVIOUSL YEARS, PEO
E BEGAN TO DISAPPEAR WHILE AWAY FROM THEIR PLACES OF WORK OR RESIDENCE -- ACCORDNGLY, INTERESTED EYEWIT- NESSES WERE ABSENT AND EVIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT MORE DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH. IN A KEY CASE NOW BEFORE THE COURTS, HOWEVER, SOME 30 PEOPLE, INCLUDING A CARABINERO CAPTAIN, HAVE TESTIFIED THAT MEN BEARING DINA IDENTIFICAA TION TOOK AWAY CARLOS CONTRERAS, MISSING SINCE EARLY NOVEMBER 1976. THE LICENSE PLATE OF THE AGENTS' VEHICLE HAS BEEN TRACED PUBLICLY TO AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE.

12. THE LOCAL PRESS AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE REFERRED TO THE APPEARANCE OF A DOZEN OR SO BODIES IN THE GREATER SANTIAGO AND CONCEPCION AREAS DURING SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1976. IT IS SAID THAT THESE BODIES SHOWED EVIDENCE OF MUTILATION TO HINDER IDENTIFICA- TION. SOME OF THE VICTIMS WER LATER IDENTIFIED AS COMMON CRIMINALS; THE IDENTITY OF OTHERS IS NOT KNOW. NONE WAS IDENTIFIED AS AMONG THE MISSING OF CONCERN TO HUMAN RIGHTS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SANTIA 02625 02 OF 04 311730Z

GROUPS. AT LEAST THREE OTHER DEATHS HAVE HAD POLITICAL OVERTONES, HOWEVER.

-- STILL OPEN IS THE SPECIAL COURT INVESTIGATION INTO THE TORTURE/RAPE/MURDER OF 42 YEAR-OLD MARTA UGARTE, A MEMBER OF THE PACCH CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHOSE REMAINS WERE FOUND ON A BEACH IN MID-SEPTEMBER 1976 -- A MONTH AFTER WITNESSES ALLEGE SHE WAS DETAINED BY SECURITY FORCES.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02625 03 OF 04 311832Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 SANTIAGO 2625

-- ALSO STILL OPEN IS THE INQUIRY INTO THE DEATH OF UN EMPLOYEE CAMELO SORIA, WHOSE BODY WAS FOUND IN A CANAL IN JULY 1976, AND WHOSE DEATH WAS ASCRIBED TO AN AUTO ACCIDENT. SORIA'S LONG TIME COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT AND THE SUBSEQUENT DISAPPEARANCE OF TWO OF HIS ACQUAINTANCES (DRS. GODOY AND INSUNZA) MAKE THE CASE VERY SUSPICIOUS. HOWEVER, THE THOROUGH REPOT OF FORENSIC EXPERTS CONTRACTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS CONCLUDED THAT DEATH BY AUTO ACCIDENT WAS PLAUSIBLE AND THAT THE LENGTHY AND SUPERFICIALLY PERSUASIVE BRIEF FILED BY SORIA'S WIFE CONTAINED NUMEROUS TECHNICAL INACCURACIES.

-- THE UNHRC WORKING GROUP'S FEBRUARY 1977 REPORT TOUCHES UPON THE SEPTEMBER 1976 ASSESSINATION OF ORLAND LETELIER IN WASHINGTON AND IMPLICITY LINKS IT WITH ATTACKS IN PREVIOUS YEARS AGAINST BERNARDO LEIGHTON (ROME 1975) AND GENERAL PRATS (BUENOS AIRES, 1974). UNTIL THE CURRENT INVESTIGATION HAS BEEN COMPLETED, IT IS PREMATURE TO REACH CONCLUSIONS REGARDING OFFICIAL CHILEAN INVOLVEMENT.

13. DETENTION: THE TRULY REMARKABLE DECLINE IN THE NUMBER

OF PERSONS DETAINED FOR WHAT ARE POLITICAL CRIMES AS BROADLY DEFINED PROVIDED THE MOST POSITIVE EXAMPLE OF IMPROVED HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE DURING 1976. THE NUMBER PLUMMETED FROM OVER 4,000 AS OF NOVEMBER 1975, TO APPROXIMATELY 500 AS OF FEBRUARY 1977 (SEE REF FOR DETAILS). INDEED THE NUMBER OF PERSONS OFFICIALLY PLACED IN DETENTION DURING 1976 (AT LEAST 300, LIKELY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SANTIA 02625 03 OF 04 311832Z

SUBSTANTIALLY MORE) STILL REPRESENTED A DROP FROM PREVIOUS YEARS. IN SOME CASES, SECURITY FORCES UNDOUBTEDLY HELD AND THEN RELEASED PEOPLE WITHOUT FOLLOWING ESTABLISHED LEGAL NORMS. DURING THE YEAR THERE WERE SOLID REPORTS THAT AGENTS WOULD SIMPLY TAKE OVER THE RESIDENCE OF A SUSPICIOUS INDIVIDUAL AND HOLD HIM AND THOSE WHO CAME TO CALL ON HIM FOR DAYS AT A TIME (THE "MOUSE TRAP" TECHNIQUE).

14. ACCORDING TO CURRENT REPORTS, SECURITY OFFICERS HOLD PEOPLE FOR LESS THAN A DAY, SOMETIMES JUST FOR A FEW HOURS. THE INDIVIDUAL MAY BE DRIVEN ABOUT IN A VEHICLE AND INTIMIDATED BY AGENTS WHO IMPLY THAT HIS IMMEDIATE FAMILY WILL SUFFER. THIS TECHNIQUE, HOWEVER REPUGNANT, IS A FAR CRY FROM PROLONGED DETENTION AND PHYSICAL MISTREATMENT.

15. TORTURE: SOME TORTURING, PARTICULARLY OF THOSE STILL MISSING, PROBABLY OCCURRED DURING 1976. THE CONDITION OF MARTA UGARTE'S BODY (SEE REF) PROVIDES CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF THIS. BUT ALMOST ALL OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT TORTURE BECAME MUCH MORE RARE AND ITS APPLICATION MORE SELECTIVE AND SOPHISTICATED. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT TORTURE HAS ACCURRED SO FAR IN 1977. AT THIS TIME TORTURE IS NEITHER PREVALENT NOR INSTITUTIONALIZED.

16. OTHER FREEDOMS: THE MARCH 12, 1977, OUTRIGHT DISSOLUTION OF REMAINING POLITICAL PARTIES AND OUTLAWING OF ALL PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, MADE SUBJECT TO SEVERE FINES, WAS THE MOST DRAMATIC OF THE GOC'S RECENT STEPS TO STILL DISSENT. THE GOVERNMENT HAD MADE CLEAR IN NUMEROUS PUBLIC STATEMENTS STRETCHING BACK OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS THAT THE NEW CHILE HAD NO ROOM FOR TRADITIONAL PARTY ACTIVITY. THROUGH THE USE OF EMERGENCY POWERS THE GOVERNMENT HAD MANAGED TO SNUFF OUT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED MEDIA DIRECTLY (AS IN THE CASE OF ITS RADIO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SANTIA 02625 03 OF 04 311832Z

STATION) OR INDICRECTLY (AS IN THE CASE OF THE SALE OF A NEWSWEEKLY STRONGLY UNDER PDC INFLUENCE). THE GOC JUSTIFIED ITS MARCH DECISION BY POINTING TO THE CIRCULATION OF DOCUMENTS USED FOR AN INTERNAL POLL OF PARTY LEADERS. THIS CLEARLY VIOLATED THE FREEZE ON THE ACTIVITIES OF NON-MARXIST POLITICAL PARTIES IMPOSED AFTER THE COUP. PROPERTY WHICH THE PARTY HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY DISPOSED OF (WICH IS WORTH SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS) IS TO BE TRANSFERRED TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE SAME MEASURE PRESUMABLY WIL ALSO AFEC THE MUCH SMALLER, CONSERVATIVE NATIONAL PARTY, WHICH HAS SUBSTANTIAL REAL ESTATE HOLDINGS. ASOF LATE MARCH NO SUCH TRANSFERS HAVE ACTUALLY OCCURRED, TO OUR KNOWLEDTE.

17. MEDIA SELF-CENSORSHIP CONTINUES, AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN RELUCTANT TO REMIND THOSE STRAYING TO FAR FROM ESTABLISHED POLICY TO HEW THE LINE. THREE RADIO STATIONS, FOR E-AMPLE, ARE REGULARLY ADMONISHED IN THIS REGARD BY GOC OFFICIALS. AND IN ONE UNUSUAL INDICENT, A ZONE COMMANDER, DISPLEASED WITH A SHORT ITEM ON HIS PROVINCE IN "EL MERCURIO," BANNED THE PAPER FOR SEVERAL DAYS (SEE ALSO REF FOR NEW GOC-IMPOSED PRIOR REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS).

18. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PRESS REGULARLY PRINTS WIRE SERVICE REPORTS CRITICAL OF CHILE. AND DURING THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN JUNE 1976, DELEGATES WERE AMAZED TO SEE THE ENTIRE TEXT OF A VERY CRITICAL OAS HRC REPORT I THE DAILY PRESS. (SHORTLY AFTER THE CONFEREES LEFT, HOWEVER, THE GOC GANNED FURTHER DEBATE ON THE REPOR AND FOLLOW-UP PETITIONS)

19. OVER THE YEARS, THE RANKS OF THE UNIVERSITIES HAVE BEEN PRUNED OF CRITICAL PROFESSORS, BUT NO MAJOR PURGES OCCURRED DURING THE PAST YEAR. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS WIDELY BELIEVE GOVERNMENT INFORMANTS PARTICIPATE IN CLASSES, AND THERE ARE RUMORS THAT CRITICAL REMARKS LEAD TO INDICATIONS THAT THEY HAVE NOT GONE UNNOTICED BY OFFICIALS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SANTIA 02625 03 OF 04 311832Z

20. ALTHOUGH A NUMBER STILL REMAIN IN PLACE, THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN STEPS TO OUST LABOR CRITCS FROM POSITIONS OF AUTHORITY IN THEIR RESPECTIVE UNIONS AND PUT PRESSURE ON THEM THROUGH OTHER MEANS. IN THE CASE OF A

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SANTIA 02625 04 OF 04 311801Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 SANTIAGO 2625

DEMOCRATIC EX-LEADER OF THE COPPER CONFEDERATION, THE
GOVERNMENT SUCCEEDED IN BREAKING THE QUORUM HE NEEDED
TO OPERATE AND FINALLY IN THROWING OUT THE WHOLE BOARD
ON TENUOUS LEGAL BASIS.

21. FOLLOWING A SHARP REACTION FROM US LABOR LEADERS
AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS
BACKED AWAY, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, FROM USING THE SAME
TECHNIQUES ON A LONGSHOREMAN LEADER. UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS
DID, HOWEVER FORCE THEIR WAY INTO YET ANOTHER DEMOCRATIC
UNION HEADQUARTERS, ROUGHED UP THOSE IT FOUND THERE AND
ATTEMPT TO BURN RECORDS. MEANWHILE, STRIKES ARE PROHIBITED,
AND WILL IN EFFECT BE BANNED PERMANENTLY EVEN AFTER THE EMERGENCY
PERIOD ENDS; COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS TEMPORARILY SUSPENDED.
AT LEAST ONE LOWER LEVEL DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADER SPENT FIVE
MONTHS OF 1976 IN PREVENTATIVE DETENTION IN WHAT APPEARS TO HAVE
BEEN A STRICTLY APOLITICAL DISAGREEMENT OVER OVERTIME WORK. A
NEW LABOR CODE STILL IS IN DRAFT FORM -- DEMOCRATIC LABOR
LEADERS HAVE NOT BEEN ASKED FOR THEIR VIEWS SINCE 1975.

22. TWO RECENT CASES OF ARSON -- ONE BURNING OUT AN
ART GALLERY AND OTHER A TENT THEATER SHOWING A WORK
TWEAKING THE GOVERNMENT -- ARE EXAMPLE OF STRONG ARM
TECHNIQUES AGAINST THE ARTS. GOC COMPLICITY IS SUS-
PECTED IN BOTH CASES, BUT THER IS NO SUPPORTING EVIDENCE.

23. INFLUENCE OF THE USG: THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOC
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02625 04 OF 04 311801Z

DURING THE PAST YEAR RESULTED FROM A COMBINATION OF
DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL FACTORS. IN OUR JUDGMENT
THE US ROLE HAS HAD A SIGNIFICANT EFFECT, IN TWO, OPPOSED
SENSES. FIRST, IT WAS PARTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR REDUCING
GROSS VIOLATIONS OF BASIC RIGHTS DURING MOST OF THE
PERIOD. SECOND, HOWEVER, OUR HEIGHTENED OPPOSITION AT

GENEVA AND OUR MORE OPEN HUMAN RIGHTS PRONOUNCEMENTS IN
GENERAL HELPED TO STIMULATE THE TOUGH MEASURES TO STILL
DOMESTIC DISSENT TAKEN IN RECENT WEEKS.
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